

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

/056 W

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R 090951Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1616

INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 11555

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PGOV ET

SUBJ: ADDIS ABABA URBAN DWELLERS' ELECTIONS

REFS: A) ADDIS ABABA 10949

B) ADDIS ABABA 11199

SUMMARY: SERIES OF ELECTIONS CULMINATING IN SELECTION 291 FIFTEEN-MEMBER ADDIS ABABA URBAN DWELLER ASSOCIATION (KEBELE) MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES COMPLETED NOVEMBER 5. PREVIOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF NOVEMBER 7 ELECTION DATE DISREGARDED, WITH NOVEMBER 5 ELECTION DAY BEING DECLARED PUBLIC HOLIDAY TO ENABLE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION. TIGHTLY CONTROLLED PROCEEDINGS APPEARED ORDERLY AND IN ETHIOPIAN PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT (EPMG) VIEW, SUCCESSFUL. NEWLY - ELECTED MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES WILL HAVE INCREASED AUTHORITY, RANGING FROM JUDICIAL POWERS IN MINOR DISPUTES TO EVENTUAL ELECTION OF ADDIS ABABA MAYOR. ABILITY OF KEBELES FULFILL BROAD ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES ENVISAGED BY EPMG LIKELY TO DETERMINE PACE OF ANY TRANSFER OF POLITICAL POWER TO MASSES. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING OCTOBER 24 KEBELE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE ELECTIONS (REFTEL B), TWO-DAY SEMINAR WAS GIVEN TO ALL 291 FIVE-MEMBER COMMITTEES. SEMINARS CONSISTED OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION, WARNINGS AGAINST REACTIONARIES AND ANTI-REVO-  
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LUTIONARIES (READ EPRP, EDU) AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTER-

ING ELECTIONS. OF 1,343 MEMBERS ELECTED TO THESE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEES MAJORITY (1,049) WITHIN 21 -40 AGE GROUP. OCCUPATIONS ARE: 223 CIVIL SERVANTS, 131 TEACHERS, 204 GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVES, 119 PRIVATE EMPLOYERS, 173 PRIVATE EMPLOYEES, 59 STUDENTS, 155 MILITARY, AND 279 OTHERS. RATIO OF MEN TO WOMEN WAS 6:1,

2. REQUIREMENTS FOR ELECTION TO KEBELE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE WERE:

A) TO HAVE BELIEF IN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION PROGRAM  
B) TO BE KNOWN BY NEIGHBORHOOD FOR INDUSTRIOUSNESS, HONESTY, AND WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE PERSONAL INTERESTS TO SERVE MASSES  
C) TO BE FREE OF ANY CRIMINAL CHARGES  
D) TO NOT HAVE LOST NATIONAL RIGHTS BY JUDICIAL VERDICT  
E) TO BE FREE OF ALCOHOLISM, DRUG ADDICTION, OR ANY MENTAL DISTURBANCES  
F) TO BE 21 YEARS OLD  
G) TO NOT BE A PROPERTY OWNER OF MORE THAN 11 HECTARES, OR TO HAVE DERIVED MORE THAN ETH \$50. FROM ANY SINGLE RENTAL PROPERTY. VOTING ELIGIBILITY SIMILAR TO ABOVE BUT DID NOT INCLUDE A) OR B) AND LOWERED AGE TO 18 YEARS. SUPERVISORY COMMITTEES INSTRUCTED TO ASSURE ALL CANDIDATES FULFILLED REQUIREMENTS BY INVESTIGATING NOMINEES- LIFE HISTORY AND BACKGROUND. SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS NOT ALLOWED TO RUN FOR MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE POSITIONS.

3. AFTER SUBSEQUENT OCTOBER 31 NOMINATING ELECTIONS, MOST KEBELES SUBMITTED 30-45 NOMINATIONS TO SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THEIR SCRUTINY. RELIABLE SOURCE STATED DURING EVENING NOVEMBER 1, KILLED FOUR KEBELE NOMINEES WHO ALLEGED NOT TO HAVE PROPER BELIEF IN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION PROGRAM (READ EPRP MEMBERS OR SYMPATHIZERS). THIS SUBSTANTIATED BY SECOND RELIABLE SOURCE WHO ADDED POLITBURO STAFF MEMBER ASSASSINATED FOLLOWING EVENING AS "RETALIATION." (FATHER OF STAFF MEMBER ALLEGED TO BE DIRG ADVISOR). BY TIME OF NOVEMBER 5 MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ELECTIONS, CLOSELY MONITORED SUPERVISORY COMMITTEES HAD PRUNED MANY OF NOMINEE LISTS CONSIDERABLY TO FIGURE NEARER NUMBER OF OFFICES AVAILABLE, REPORTEDLY ON BASIS OF CRITERIA PARA 2.  
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4. FURING WEEK OF NOVEMBER 1 RUMORS CIRCULATED NOVEMBER 5 WOULD BE HOLIDAY BUT NO OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT GIVEN UNTIL NOVEMBER 4. THIS PROBABLY FOR SECURITY REASONS TO PREEMPT ANY DISTURBANCES PLANNED FOR PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED NOVEMBER 7 ELECTION DAY. DAY OF ELECTIONS CALM WITH NO REPORTED DIFFICULTIES IN CITY. SECURITY GUARDS ON ALERT TO OVSERVE PROCEEDINGS AT ALL POLLING PLACES. SOME VOTERS EXPRESSED

DISMAY AS TO "TECHNICALITIES" WHICH DISQUALIFIED SOME OF THEIR NOMINEES, INADEQUATE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATES AND COMPLEX BALLOTING PROCEDURE. ALSO LOUDSPEAKERS WERE USED AT VOTING STATIONS TO TELL VOTERS TO VOTE FOR RIGHT.

5. NOVEMBER 5 ELECTIONS ARE TO LEAD TO FORMATION OF HIGHER AND CENTRAL URBAN DWELLERS' ASSOCIATIONS (REFTEL A). MAYOR (KENTIBA) OF ADDIS ABABA WILL BE ELECTED FROM AMONG THOSE NOMINATED TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. FUTURE MAYORAL ELECTION BEING HERALDED AS FIRST TIME VOICE OF MASSES WILL BE HEARD IN ELECTING MAYOR.

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH KEBELE ELECTIONS HAD GENERALLY CALM APPEARANCE, MANY RELIEVED THEY OVER. KEBELE MANAGEMENT POSITIONS PRESENTLY UNCOMPENSATED AND MANY PERSONS ALREADY HAVING FULL-TIME JOBS WERE RELUCTANT TO STAND FOR ELECTION. OTHER CONSIDERATION WAS CLOSE GOVERNMENT SURVEILLANCE OF KEBELE ACTIVITIES AND SECURITY RISK TO INDIVIDUALS, WHO WILL BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY IN JURISDICTION. KILLING OF FOUR NOMINEES, IF SUBSTANTIATED, WOULD PROVIDE VIVID EXAMPLE OF EPMG INVOLVEMENT IN "DEMOCRATIC" PROCESS. COMPLICATED BALLOTING PROCEDURE GAVE VOTERS FALSE IMPRESSION OF HAVING REAL CHOICE. ALTHOUGH THEY COULD VOTE FOR AS MANY AS 15 HAND -PICKED CANDIDATES, IN MANY CASES VOTERS ONLY CHOSE ONE OR A FEW NOMINEES, PROBABLY THINKING MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE ONLY FIVE MEMBERS LIKE ELECTION SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE.

7. ETHIOPIA'S EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM APPEARS SHORT ON DEMOCRACY AND LONG ON CENTRALISM, WITH EXPECTATION OF EVEN GREATER DIRG CONTROL OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. KEBELES ARE LIKELY TO ELIMINATE MUCH RED TAPE IN MINOR CASES ALONG EPMG GUIDELINES AND PROVIDE ADDITIONAL

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BENEFITS THROUGH COOPERATIVE STORES AND COLLECTIVE WORK PROJECTS. HOWEVER, THEY ARE ALSO LIKELY TO BE PLIANT TOOLS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF DIRG POLICY INITIATIVES. BE THAT AS IT MAY, ELECTIONS NEVERTHELESS PROBABLY REPRESENTED FIRST TIME MANY ADDIS RESIDENTS HAVE EVER VOTED IN THEIR LIFETIME. END COMMENT.

8. FORTY-FOUR ARTICLE URBAN DWELLERS' ASSOCIATION PROCLAMATION OF OCTOBER 9 NOT YET AVAILABLE. WILL POUCH COPY TO DEPARTMENT WHEN WE RECEIVE.

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## Message Attributes

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**Reference:** 76 ADDIS ABABA 10949  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <28 JUN 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <29 JUN 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ADDIS ABABA URBAN DWELLERS' ELECTIONS  
**TAGS:** PINT, PGOV, ET, KEBELE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006